241 IT WILL be seen that structure and climate conspire together
132 to encourage a scheme of summer utilisation of high pastures
221 combined with valley cultivation that was much enriched when the maize plant was introduced, but this was not so long ago, and the older régime was none too prosperous both because of climatic troubles in the highlands and especially the sensitiveness of the wheat plant to abnormal seasons, and because of the hindrances to organisation arising from the diversities of language between governments and
371 subjects. The encouragement of industry was not easy while some lignite and a little coal were the main sources of power, but later on it became possible to use abundant petroleum and natural gas and we have yet to see, in the
565 next generation, what influence they may have. Up to the
241 present, however, a true peasantry survives, and has increased its hold on the soil; it still makes at home a great proportion of what it needs, it still finds that in the hills the maize crop may not ripen, and old communal schemes relating to the high pastures remain important.

233 TRANSHUMANCE has long played a prominent part in the
221 pastoral life of the Carpathians, for agriculturally the region is marginal and it is not very unusual for the maize crop, which covers an astonishingly large proportion of the arable land, to fail to mature. Before the late war the flocks of the eastern Carpathians used to winter in the plains of Moldavia, Bessarabia, the Dobrogea and south Russia, more rarely in Transylvania. During the nineteenth century, however, many Roumanian shepherds stayed in the plain and formed the nuclei of small permanent Roumanian colonies outside the boundaries of Transylvania.

423 DURING the last few centuries there have been considerable
311 changes in schemes of land holding. In the late eighteenth century the scattered possessions of the landlord class were consolidated into Latifundia. In the first half of the nineteenth century arable farming was extended into the Danubian plain and on the rich lands between Siret and Prut—in areas, that is to say, which had not been previously cultivated. This development progressed with the rise of an export trade in cereals to feed the industrial populations of the west. It is interesting to note that much of this newly-developed territory in Wallachia was organised on the system of métayage, the new colonists from the hills becoming tenants on a produce-sharing basis.

IN CONNECTION with this development, many of the Roumanian transhumant herdsmen gave up their pastoral life and settled as agriculturists or went into commerce. After 1918 the large estates were broken up and plots of land were given to the peasantry. This was the occasion for the return to Transylvania of some of the former emigrants who had gone to Wallachia and Moldavia, but naturally many features of the old life have disappeared, e.g. the July fairs that were formerly held high up in the mountains and did much to preserve the cultural heritage of the pastoral people.

[221] BUT, if large-scale seasonal migrations over long distances have declined, the short distance movements still play a vital part in the rural economy of the eastern Carpathians and fortunately have not as yet been divested of all their old-time ritual.

313 church, fencing, roofing, flooring, is of timber, and also many of his household utensils: water-buckets, jugs, spoons, etc.

IT IS very unfortunate that the most lucrative type of timber should be the most inaccessible. Timber from the great stands of pine has to take the slow and tortuous route down the rivers in rafts (see Plates VII and VIII) to the Danube and Black Sea. Afforestation has not reached a high stage of development as yet. The trees are propagated by naturally-sown seeds, and there are very few nurseries. Where the clearings are made, the stumps are left in the ground to add to the difficulties of the hay harvester.

221 WE MAY sum up the tale of Roumania's agricultural assets by saying that she is well endowed by nature as regards soils and climatic conditions for the wide-spread production of grain, fruit and vegetables; that natural pasture, whether upland or lowland, is seasonal and insufficient for a satisfactory development of cattle raising, though much may be done by an intensified cultivation of fodder crops. The increased provision of communal grazing for the peasants has been a useful step. Conditions are better for sheep, which are more adaptable than cattle and are better able to stand the rigours of the hard winter. Transhumance is everywhere practised with these animals: those of the great plains moving from the Danube lowlands in the spring to the hill pastures in the summer. Local transhumance of cattle, sheep and pigs from villages of the upland valleys to the high dairies is the rule.

LAND TENURE.

241 423 AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS, past and present, and the marketing of the products of land-utilisation are so closely bound up with conditions of land tenure that it is relevant to include here a short summary of those conditions.

IN THE PERIOD immediately preceding the outbreak of the Great War, 50 per cent of the land of Old Roumania was in large holdings (over 250 acres), and in the Bucovina, where the Roumanian peasants' holdings were pitiably small, 60 per cent. About 40 per cent of the holdings were of less than twenty-five acres. In Old Roumania and Transylvania the average was only eight acres per family, in the grain lands of Bessarabia eleven, but in the Bucovina uplands

4:Fleure S-5 (no date)1936 EDl Rumania EDl

241

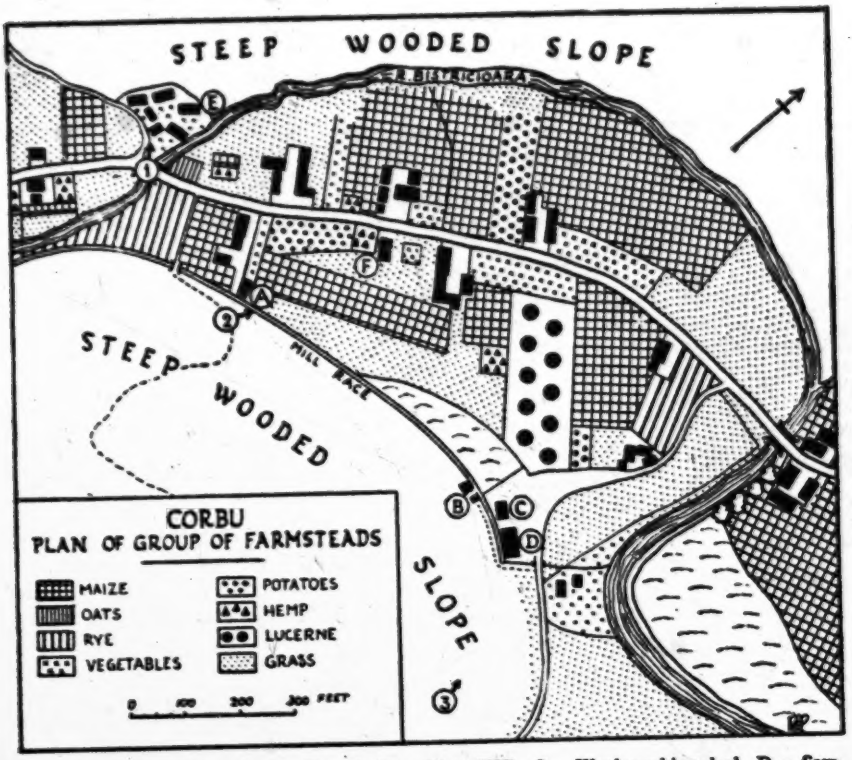

FIGURE 11. A = Joinery mill. B = Smithy (Plate XII). C = Wool-combing shed. D = Saw-mill. E = Gipsy colony. F = Holding in process of subdivision. Numbers refer to position and direction of camera: (1) Plate XII (lower), (2) Plate XI (lower), (3) Plate XI (upper).

246

in the Bistricioara valley in the early part of July, the peasants then working up the hillsides to the higher meadows where the hay-making is completed about the third week in September. What is not needed in the village byres is stacked on the lower slopes near the sheep pens in which the animals are housed during the winter months.

221

TRANSHUMANCE.

TRANSHUMANCE forms an essential supplement to arable farming in Corbu, for the cultivable land is too valuable to be used for grazing purposes except for a short time after the harvest, whilst the produce of the hay meadows is required for winter feed.

SCATTERED over the commune are eight "stâne" or temporary summer settlements which are all situated between 400 and 800 metres above the village. The stâna itself is a simple affair, consisting of a log hut which affords living accommodation for the shepherds and acts as a dairy and store-house, together with the folds into which the animals are driven for milking. The one illustrated had a population of three men and two boys, all Roumanians, 350 sheep and 20 cows, as well as a few pigs, the only animals left in the village being the one or two milch cows retained at each farm for family needs and the draught animals (see Plate XIII).

THE change from winter to spring takes place very rapidly during the second fortnight of April, and the ascent to the dairies is made at the end of that month or early in May. Before the animals are taken up the milk yield of the cows is tested in order to determine the apportionment of the cheese made therefrom, but the ewes' milk cheese is distributed on the basis of the number of sheep belonging to each peasant. Shortly after the ascent the village priest performs the ceremony of blessing each stâna in turn, and before the end of May the sheep are sheared by peasants who go up specially for the purpose, the wool being brought down to the village on horseback.

SINCE the summer pastures are communal property their administration is in the hands of an assembly of heads of families which assesses the rent to be paid for the season—generally 12-15 lei for a sheep and 50 lei for a cow. The money thus received forms a fund from which the shepherds are paid for their services. Each peasant makes personal arrangements with the senior shepherd as to the amount of cheese he will require for household purposes, any surplus going into a common stock which is marketed at the end of the season. Any disputes that arise are settled by arbitration in the presence of the mayor when the shepherds return to the village. This takes place during the latter part of October, the descent of each group being celebrated by minor festivities at which the shepherds are the guests of honour. The general feast held when all are down marks the official end of the season's activities.

UPON their return to the village the cows are immediately stabled, but each peasant splits up his sheep into two groups,

4:Fleure S-5 (no date)1936 ED1 Rumania ED1

3. DOMESTIC ANIMALS

422 231 The following figures were collected for two households (August 1933), one smaller and one larger:

Farm A	Farm B
3 milch cows, two on high pastures, one at the farm	7 milch cows, six on high pastures, one at the farm
No draught oxen	2 draught oxen
1 calf	5 calves
2 horses	2 horses
30 sheep	50 sheep
2 pigs	4 pigs
15 fowls	21 fowls
15 beehives, near house	4 or 5 beehives, away from house in lower pastures

Housing for geese was usually available, and several flocks with six to eight geese in each were noticed on the road. A few turkeys were observed, also a few large guinea fowl in a farm in a tributary valley. There were doves at the priest's house.

The Forestry control forbids the keeping of goats.

4. THE FARMING CALENDAR

221 Late April, early May.—Prepare soil, sow maize and potatoes, harrow hayfields.

Early May.—Sheep and some cattle and pigs go up to the high pastures.

Late May.—Peasants shear sheep on high pastures.

Early June.—Weeding and first hilling-up of maize by work with a hoe when plants are 15-20 cm. high.

Late June.—Second weeding and hilling-up of maize. General tidying-up before hay harvest.

Early July.—First cut of hay in the lower lands.

July, August and first three weeks of September.—Hay harvest. Peasants make temporary shelters when harvesting in remote spots. Hay on hills mostly stacked near the shelters used for sheep during part of the winter. Beside this is a hut for the man in charge.

September 25-October 10th.—Maize harvest.

Third week of October.—Potatoes lifted.

October.—Stock brought down from high pastures and sorted out among owners by means of earmarks.

October until first serious snow.—Sheep may be kept in remote pastures that have not been much used or reaped.

Thence until May.—Some sheep on lower hills near shelters with hay (see above, July, August). Some sheep folded on lowland fields to fertilise them. No artificial manure. Hay used as fodder. Lambing on lowland fields near homesteads.

241 PAID AGRICULTURAL labour is very rare; the work of the farm is done entirely by the peasant and his family, including women. Modern machinery is still almost unknown, so that agricultural practice is rather that of the garden than that of the field in our Western sense.

PLOUGHING is done with a wooden plough tipped with iron and ox drawn. Sowing is done largely by hand, while intermediate operations, such as hilling the maize, are done with a hoe of the form illustrated on page 59. Harvesting, if not done by "pulling" (e.g. flax), or picking (e.g. fruit), is done by means of a sickle (maize) or scythe (hay).

[242] AMONG SOME farmers some idea of rotation of crops is understood, but only very imperfectly; in many cases it is not practised at all, the same plot of land being used for maize year after year.

ARTIFICIAL FERTILIZERS are seldom used, peasants depending for renewal of fertility upon animal manure and ploughing in and burning the stubble. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the yield is low and crops poor in quality.

[22] SOWING BEGINS at the end of April or the beginning of May (oats) and continues until the middle of June. Harvesting begins as soon after July 20th as possible and continues until the end of October, when the last of the maize is gathered.

231 ANIMALS PLAY an important part in the agricultural economy of the Rumanian peasant. Every holding possesses sheep, particularly milking ewes, milking cows, draught oxen, perhaps a horse or horses, pigs, together with geese and fowls. Few holdings are without one or two hives of bees. Occasionally on a very small holding (less than one hectare) milking cows are replaced by goats. During the summer (from the beginning of May until the end of August) the sheep and such cattle as are not needed at the farm for draught or milking purposes are sent up to the high pastures. Pigs are sometimes sent up with them, but not goats. During this time the animals left are either fed on fodder crops at the farm or are sent out daily to pasture on a portion of the hay meadows set aside for that purpose. On being brought down from the mountains the animals are pastured for a short time on the hay meadows from which the crop has already been taken. They are then brought back to their

231

Animals

5 milking cows, 2 at farm, 3 with calves away on the high pastures.
2 draught oxen.
2 bulls.
100 sheep, away on high pastures.
2 horses.
3 pigs.
30 goats at farm.
Large number of poultry (fowls and geese) impossible to estimate.
2 hives of bees in flower garden.

221

AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR

April.	Preparation of ground, sowing of oats and vetch. Sheep go up to low hill pastures.
May.	Sowing of maize, potatoes, beans. May 1st, sheep go to high pastures.
June.	Sowing of fodder crops; all sowing finished by middle of month.
July.	Early part of month, first cutting of hay, making and collecting. July 20th, beginning of harvest, i.e. flax, cherries, oats and barley.
August.	Middle of month, second cutting of hay, oat harvest, plum harvest, followed by apple and walnut harvest. Harvesting and retting of hemp. Some ploughing of grain stubble. August 31st, sheep return from high pastures to low hill pastures.
September.	Beginning of maize harvest, sheep penned on maize stubble as soon as possible.
October.	End of maize harvest according to season.
November to March.	Sheep penned on maize fields, cattle kept in sheds and fed on hay and fodder crops.

A. R. B.

412

Mould for hay fork

5: Fleure S-5 (no date)1939 EDl Rumania EDl

TRANSHUMANCE IN THE SOUTHERN CARPATHIANS

233 221 IN THE SOUTHERN CARPATHIANS we have a region which still retains its pastoral activities, little disturbed by the social and economic forces which have invaded the pastoralists' domain elsewhere. Few Roumanian villages are without sheep, and in the summer great numbers are taken to the high pastures when these become free of snow. This seasonal migration, or transhumance, is an ancient feature of European life, and a study of its forms and functions in Roumania not only throws light on important aspects of peasant life, but provides valuable comparative material for the study of similar movements in regions like western Britain, where transhumance survives only in a modified way.

[291] SHEEP ARE the pivot of rural economy in these Carpathian lands; the pastoral element pervades all aspects of peasant life—from the traditional costumes of woollen cloth trousers and sheepskin waistcoat to popular poetry and music. But the intimate contact with upland pastures thus ensured has been of deeper significance: it has enabled the Carpathian peoples to preserve their sense of unity when the lowlands were overrun by invaders, while the contacts maintained between summering groups have helped to preserve the Roumanian language and kept its dialectal variations within limits. In a very real sense, the Southern Carpathians are the heart of Roumania.

133 PHYSICAL CONDITIONS have, from very remote times, favoured the development and survival of pastoral life. The steepness of the forested valley slopes which isolate the upland core is in strong contrast to the gently undulating platforms which rise above the tree-line, at about 5,000 feet, and terminate in rugged glaciated *monadnocks* which may reach 8,000 feet or more (Negoiu, 2,544 m.). The prolonged erosion of Tertiary times which produced the upland platforms also provided the great masses of unconsolidated material—mostly coarse sands—which now form the extensive foothills stretching half way to the Danube over a width of some sixty miles. Curtea de Argeș is one of the settlements of this foothill belt,

471 the shepherds and cheese-maker. These dues, amounting to
233 some 10 or 20 lei per sheep, are worked out each year by a committee which regulates the financial side of the transhumant economy.

234 EACH STÂNĂ has its baciu or cheese-maker, who is paid by
233 the commune. In some districts this scheme is varied by
471 arrangements which must represent modifications of the old economy of collective shepherding. Occasionally a large farmer may be proprietor of a stână and may possess enough sheep to run his own pasturing, in which case he may either hire a cheese-maker or fill that rôle in person. Or he may let his stână to the highest bidder, who pays in cheese obtained from the flock. From this it is a short step to the emergence of the middleman who, possessing no sheep himself, rents a pasture and guarantees to return an agreed quantity of cheese per sheep to those who send him their stock.

233 BEGINNING OUR account with the descent from the mountains,
● 221 we find that the uppermost pastures are abandoned by the last day of August, and the return downhill takes place during the first fortnight in September, being normally completed by September 14th (The Feast of the Cross). The sheep are driven to the local pastures until the maize crop is gathered, when they are penned on the stubble. Movement uphill begins about the middle of April and is completed by May 1st in an average year, St. George's Day (April 23rd) being a central date. Each peasant is responsible for driving his own sheep, using recognized tracks which tend to follow the watersheds. The sheep thus avoid the deep valley-crossings and can avail themselves of occasional natural clearings for temporary halts in a journey which may last a week. These are points of some importance in connection with the study of ridgeway roads generally.

342 THE SHEPHERD'S hut is a log-cabin erected on a single foundation-course of boulders. It is roofed with shingles or long planks; the gable is boarded above the level of the eaves, and a gap at the apex serves in place of chimney. Scarcely any metal is used in the construction of these summer dwellings, which serve as dairies and storehouses in addition to providing shelter and sleeping-places for the shepherds.
○○○ The furniture is of the simplest, but much ingenuity is

1 [for explanation see footnote 50 pp. 49, cat. 116 -- Analyst]